

Message Text

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, DR. HENRY A.), PFOR, EEC, US

SUBJECT: EUROPEAN CHIEFS OF MISSION MEETING -- UPDATING

THE AMBASSADOR'S PERSONAL ASSESSMENT OF THE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

REF: A. EC BRUSSELS 5756; B. STATE 231853

1. IN THE SEVEN-WEEK PERIOD SINCE THE RELATIVELY OPTIMISTIC
ASSESSMENT OF US/EC RELATIONS TRANSMITTED IN REFTEL A,
A NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENTS HAVE INTERVENED TO DARKEN THE
PICTURE:

A. THE MIDDLE EAST WAR AND THE ACCOMPANYING ENERGY
CRISIS HAVE GENERATED NEW STRAINS.

B. THE FRENCH HAVE CAPITALIZED ON THIS SITUATION TO
PROMOTE THEIR CONCEPTS OF EUROPEAN "UNITY" AND ATLANTIC
RELATIONS.

C. THE DISCUSSIONS OF A US/EC DECLARATION HAVE
HIGHLIGHTED THE EXTENT TO WHICH SOME EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS
ARE WILLING TO GO ALONG WITH FRENCH REJECTION OF THE TRADI-
TIONAL ATLANTIC CONCEPTS OF "PARTNERSHIP," "INTERDEPENDENCE,"
AND "CONSULTATION" AND TO ACCEPT THE FRENCH NOTION OF
"DIFFERENTIATION" FROM THE US.

D. ONE OF THE CENTERPIECES OF OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS
WITH THE COMMUNITY -- THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS --
HAS SUFFERED A MAJOR SETBACK WITH THE DELAY IN CONGRES-
SIONAL ACTION ON US TRADE LEGISLATION. THE INEVITABLE
CONSEQUENCES OF THIS DEVELOPMENT ARE: LOSS OF MOMENTUM

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IN PREPARATION FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS AND LOSS OF PERSPECTIVE

IN DEALING WITH SPECIFIC TRADE DISPUTES.

E. IN THE MONETARY FIELD, THE DOLLAR HAS STRENGTHENED, PARTLY AS A RESULT OF IMPROVEMENT IN THE US TRADE BALANCE AND PARTLY AS A RESULT OF EXPECTATIONS REGARDING THE IMPACT OF THE ENERGY SHORTAGE. WHETHER PROSPECTS FOR MONETARY REFORM HAVE IMPROVED OR WORSENERD IS NOT YET CLEAR.

2. TAKEN ALL TOGETHER, THE NET RESULT OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS IS THAT IN APPEARANCE, AND TO SOME EXTENT IN REALITY, THE ECONOMIC AND TRADE ISSUES WHICH HAVE PREOCCUPIED US IN RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE THE PAST FEW YEARS HAVE BEEN OVERSHADOWED BY POLITICAL AND SECURITY ISSUES. YET, THE BASIC PROBLEM OF RESOURCES -- ENERGY IN THE PRESENT INSTANCE -- POINTS UP THE EXTENT TO WHICH ECONOMIC FACTORS IMPINGE ON FUNDAMENTAL SECURITY INTERESTS, LIMIT EUROPEAN FREEDOM OF ACTION IN FOREIGN POLICY, AND TEST THEIR COHESION. IN SHORT, THE REALITY OF LINKAGE HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED BY PAINFUL EXPERIENCE AT THE MOST BASIC LEVELS OF POLICY FORMULATION. THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND ISSUES IDENTIFIED IN THE REFTEL MUST NOT BE OVERLOOKED DESPITE THE NECESSARY CONCENTRATION ON SECURITY.

3. IT IS TOO EARLY TO TELL WHETHER THESE DEVELOPMENTS, PARTICULARLY THE MIDDLE EAST AND ENERGY CRISIS, WILL PROMOTE OR RETARD EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL UNIFICATION. THE COHESION OF THE COMMUNITY IS CLEARLY BEING TESTED AND BASIC POLITICAL/SECURITY POLICIES ARE BEING REVIEWED. WHATEVER THE OUTCOME (AND IT MAY NOT BE APPARENT FOR SOME TIME), THE FUTURE OF US/EC RELATIONS WILL BE CRITICALLY AFFECTED.

4. ON THE ASSUMPTION (WHICH I BELIEVE VALID) THAT THE PRESENT STRESSES WILL NOT REVERSE THE INTERACTION PROCESS, THE BASIC PROBLEM IDENTIFIED IN REFTEL A IS STILL WITH US: -- HOW TO ADVANCE US OBJECTIVE IN DEALING WITH A WESTERN EUROPEAN GROUPING WHICH IS STILL IN PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT AND WHICH PERCEIVES COMMON ATLANTIC INTERESTS MUCH LESS CLEARLY THAN HERTOFORE.

5. SIMILARLY, MY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ARE
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BASICALLY UNCHANGED:

A. THE DEBATE ON US/EUROPEAN RELATIONS AND EVENTS SINCE THE APRIL SPEECH HAVE DEMONSTRATED THE NEED FOR RE-EXAMINATION OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS.

B. THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE MADE BOTH SIDES MORE AWARE THAT IT WILL BE A LONG AND SOMETIMES PAINFUL PROCESS, AND THAT IN THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE MAXIMUM PUBLIC DISCUSSION IS ESSENTIAL.

C. NOTHING HAS EMERGED WHICH REDUCES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ENORMOUS POLITICAL, SECURITY AND ECONOMIC STAKE WE HAVE IN EUROPE.

D. AS WE GROPE FOR UNDERSTANDING AND A NEW BASIS FOR OUR RELATIONS WITH EUROPE, WE WILL HAVE TO DEFINE MORE CLEARLY WHAT OUR OBJECTIVES ARE WHEN DECIDING ON A COURSE OF ACTION SO THAT COHERENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS CAN BE DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE THOSE OBJECTIVES.

E. AN IMPORTANT PART OF OUR STRATEGY AND TACTICS IS WHETHER WE NEED ACCEPT A EUROPEAN POSITION WHICH IS FRENCH BY DEFAULT. WE HAVE NOT LOST ALL LEVERAGE ON THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EC BUT WE MUST CHOOSE OUR TARGETS CAREFULLY AND THEN USE ALL THE TOOLS AT OUR COMMAND IN A COORDINATED WAY. GREENWALD

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